Emergence of passive voice in Central Borneo

Alexander D. Smith   &   Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine

National University of Singapore   University of Helsinki / National University of Singapore

smith.alexander.david@gmail.com   mitcho@mitcho.com

SLE 57 workshop on passivization, August 2024[1]

1   Introduction

► Austronesian languages are well known for their verb-initiality and so-called "voice systems": a set of symmetrical/valency-neutral alternations, including multiple undergoer voices (UV; see e.g. Himmelmann 2002, Erlewine, Levin & Van Urk 2017, Chen & McDonnell 2019).

• These properties hold of a well-studied subset of Austronesian languages — the "Philippine-type": in Taiwan, the Philippines, northern Borneo, and Madagascar — and are reconstructable to Proto-Austronesian (PAN) (see e.g. Wolff 1973, Ross 2002).

• Various changes have led to different types of grammars across the Austronesian family, which diverge from this Philippine-type/PAN prototype.

Today: We study the innovation of <u>analytic passives</u>, accompanied by the loss of Philippine-type syntax, in <u>"Central Bornean-type" (CB) languages</u> (Clayre 1996, Kroeger & Smith 2024, Sommerlot to appear).

(1)   **Kenyah (Lebo' Vo' variety):**   (Erlewine & Smith 2024)

   a.   <u>Active: "S_{Ag} (Aux) V O_{Pat}"</u>   b.   <u>Passive: "S_{Pat} (Aux) **PASS** (Ag) V (Ag)"</u>

Kule	nəvəŋ	kayu	bioʔ	inɨ.	kayu	bioʔ	inɨ	**ən**	(Kule) nəvəŋ (Kule)
Kule	cut.down	tree	big	DEM	tree	big	DEM	PASS	Kule cut.down Kule

    'Kule cut down the big tree.'   'The big tree was cut down (by Kule).'

► Based on the study of passive marker forms and word orders, we identify <u>multiple diachronic sources</u> for these passive patterns.

• Regional contact (Borneo-internal and potentially with Mainland SEA) led to mutually reinforcement of patterns, especially the noteworthy preverbal agent passive ("PASS Ag V" word order).
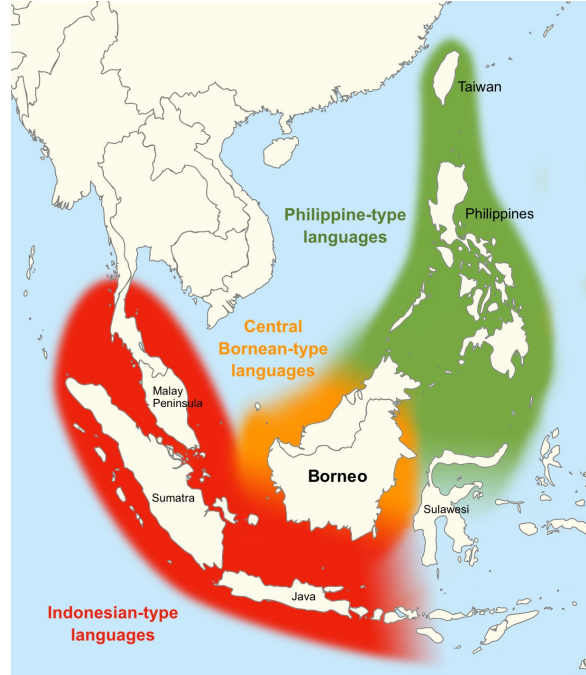
---

2 A first look

- Borneo is the third largest island in the world, situated between the Philippines and the rest of the Malay archipelago (Nusantara).

- Austronesian peoples migrated from the Philippines to Borneo and then further south and west.

- Philippine-type grammars are still observed in northeastern Borneo. Many southern languages exhibit "Indonesian-type" grammars. Clayre (1996, 2014) describes many in between as "Central Bornean-type."

(2) **Three western Austronesian prototypes:**

Also synthesizing refinements in Kroeger & Smith 2024 and Sommerlot to appear:

(3) **Central Bornean-type (CB):**

   a. rigid word order, often subject clause-initial: "S(Aux)VO";

   b. two voices: active vs passive, with active default;

   c. loss of case marking (except possibly genitive pronouns);

   d. Philippine-type voice affixes often lost, with frequent use of novel analytic passives.
   (Some retain morphological UV, often -Vn-/n-; see §3.3.)

(4) **CB analytic passives and their passive markers:**
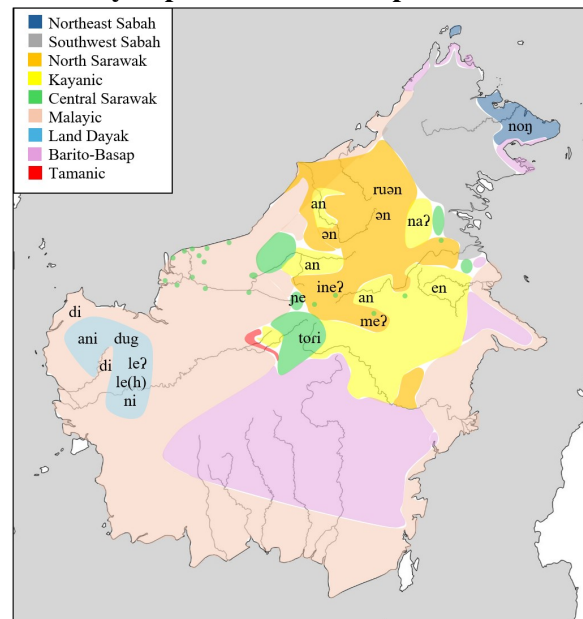
Some CB analytic passives allow passive agents to be preverbal or postverbal (see Kenyah Lebo' Vo' in (1)), while others require one word order or the other:

(5) **Kelai (Kayanic): "PASS V (Ag)"**

   a. sɛʔ bəwp koy
   3sg hit 1sg
   'He hit me.'

   b. koy en (*sɛʔ) bəwp (sɛʔ)
   1sg PASS hit 3sg
   'I was hit (by him).'

   (Smith 2017 notes)

(6) **Kayan (Uma Nyaving variety): "PASS (Ag) V"**

   a. asoʔ anih maʔət akuy
   dog PROX bite 1sg
   'This dog bit me.'

   b. akuy an (asoʔ anih) maʔət (*asoʔ anih)
   1sg PASS dog PROX bite
   'I was bitten (by this dog).'

   (Smith, Erlewine & Sommerlot 2024)

Given the frequent and often rigid subject-initial ("S(Aux)VO") word order in CB languages, we assume that CB languages conventionalized this clause-initial position for subjects early on, reflecting an extension of the optional subject topicalization in Philippine languages:

(7) **Cebuano Patient Voice (PV) pivot topicalization:** (Bell 1976: p. 162)

    a. <u>(Aux) V-initial:</u>   b. <u>S (Aux) V...:</u>

Gi-luto'	sa	babaye	*ang*	*bukas*.	→	*Ang*	*bukas*	gi-luto'	sa	babaye.
PV-cook	GEN	woman	NOM	rice		NOM	rice	PV-cook	GEN	woman

    'The rice was cooked by the woman.'

- Conventionalization of this word order also supports/facilitates the loss of case markers.

▶ The possibility of postverbal agent passives in CB is then not so surprising.

On the other hand, <u>preverbal agent passives deserve special attention.</u>

- We note that analytic passives with "PASS (Ag) V" word order are common in Mainland Southeast Asia (and East Asia), as with Khmer *trəw*, Thai *thùuk*, Vietnamese *bị*, and Mandarin Chinese *bèi* (see e.g. Prasithrathsint 2004, 2006). Although converging anthropological, genetic, and lexical evidence indicates a history of Mainland Southeast Asia (i.e. Austroasiatic) contact and influence in Borneo (see e.g. Blench 2010, Simanjuntak 2017, Hoh, Deng & Xu 2022, Blevins & Kaufman 2023), <u>no CB languages to our knowledge suggest MSEA sources for CB passive marker forms.</u>

▶ The question of the historical source of these passives in Borneo remains unanswered.

<u>Summary and questions:</u>
Central Bornean passives thus exhibit one or both of the basic word orders in (8):

(8)   a.   Subject/Patient PASS   Verb   (Agent)   ...   (BY Agent)   ...

      b.   Subject/Patient PASS   (Agent)   Verb   ...

We are interested in two related questions:

Q1: What is the source of these **passive marker forms** (PASS)?

Q2: What is the source for these **passive word orders**, especially with preverbal agents (8b)?

3   Pathways to preverbal agent passives

A closer look at the inventory of passive marker forms motivates <u>multiple innovation pathways</u>:

    §3.1   Reanalysis of constructions with 'do/make' verbs as passives
    §3.2   Reanalysis of object focus constructions (pseudoclefts) as passives
    §3.3   Retained undergoer voice affix + pattern copying
 (App.   Fronting of postverbal agent *by*-phrases)

3.1   Light verb → passive marker

In many Dayic (North Sarawak) languages, analytic passives with "S PASS Ag Verb" order arose through a reanalysis of complex constructions involving a higher undergoer voice 'do/make' verb embedding a (morphologically) active verb (Clayre 1996, 2014, Hemmings 2015, Mortensen 2021).

(9)   **Reanalysis of UV 'do/make' verb into analytic passive marker:**

S$_{Pat}$ do/make.UV   Ag.GEN   [AV-V ...]   →   S$_{Pat}$ PASS   Ag.GEN   AV-V ...

Lun Bawang (Dayic) maintains a morphological AV vs PV distinction, as well as some case distinctions (10), but it also developed a periphrastic passive construction with a 'do/make' verb (11):

(10)   **Lun Bawang AV/PV distinction:**   (Mortensen 2021: p. 98)

   a.   {uih}   m-[b]ukut   neneh   {uih}   b.   {ieh}   bekut-in   =kuh   {ieh}
      1sg   AV-punch   3sg.OBL   1sg   3sg   punch-PV   1sg.GEN   3sg
      'I hit him.'   'I hit him.' / 'He was hit by me.'

(11)   **Lun Bawang periphrastic passive:**   (p. 114–115)

   a.   iko   ru-en   =neh   m-[b]ukut   b.   * iko   ru-en   =neh   bukut-en
      2sg   do/make-PV   3sg.GEN   AV-punch   2sg   do/make-PV   3sg.GEN   punch-PV
      'You are punched by him.'   (lexical verb must be AV)

(12)   **Other passives with UV 'do/make' sources (all in North Sarawak group):**

   a.   Sa'ban (Dayic): *aru'* / *uen* [ʌn]   (Clayre 1996: pp. 77–78, 2002: p. 60)

   b.   Kelabit (Dayic): *tu'en/en* 'do/put'   (Hemmings 2016: pp. 215–216)

   c.   Similar forms in related Karayan dialects (Dayic) from Clayre 2005: p. 45:

Table 12: The dialectal forms of the verb *(t)aruʔ* in the periphrastic
undergoer construction in Karayan dialects

Dialect	*(t)aruʔ*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
Lun Dayeh	*ruenʔ*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
Kelabit	*tuʔen*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
Sembudud, P. Mering, P. Padi, P. Kaber	*uen*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
Lg Padi, Lg Mutan	*ngen*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
P. Tera, Lg Sing	*nen*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb
B. Liku, Binuang, P. Kurid	*en*	+NP actor	+{AV}:verb

   d.   Belait (Lower Baram): *u'an/'an*   (Clynes 2005: pp. 448–449)

   e.   Penan (Kenyah): *na-nəwʔ* 'PV-make'   (Smith 2017 notes)

<u>Summary:</u>

Q1:   What is the source of these passive marker forms (PASS)?

   A: Undergoer voice 'do/make' verbs, embedding AV lexical verbs

Q2: What is the source for preverbal agent passive ("PASS Ag V") word order?

A: The agent is the postverbal (genitive) agent of the higher, UV 'do/make' verb.

- This provides a potential source for passive markers of the form *Vn* common in Kayanic (reconstructed as **in* in Smith, Erlewine & Sommerlot 2024), through attested reduction of UV 'do/make' verbs into *Vn*-like forms (see e.g. Clynes 2005: p. 449, Hemmings 2016: p. 216).

- It's not clear what the semantics of the source construction is. (Possibly a causative? See e.g. Haspelmath 1990, Yap & Iwasaki 2003.)

3.2 Pseudocleft → passive

Another possible source for preverbal agent passives is from reanalysis of object focus constructions; specifically, null copula pseudoclefts:

(13) **Reanalysis of patient focus constructions (pseudoclefts):**

X_{Foc} [<u>REL</u> S_{Ag} V __ ...] → S_{Pat} <u>PASS</u> Ag V __ ...
'X is [what S_{Ag} V...]'

In the Punan subgroup (Central Sarawak), the Beketan passive marker *ɲe* appears to be cognate with some attested relative complementizers, such as Punan Aput *ɲa* or Seputan *ne*.　　(Smith 2017 notes)

(14) **Beketan passive:**

hok	<u>ɲe</u>	hen	ɲəroti?
1sg	PASS	3sg	hit

'I was hit by him.'

(15) **Punan Aput pseudocleft:**

he	[RC <u>ɲa</u>	kaman	kun	ku	]
who	REL	eat	food	1SG.GEN	

'Who is the one who ate my food?'

Ida'an Begak (Northeast Sabah) *noŋ* introduces many patient relatives[2] and also appears as a temporal/modal auxiliary which yields analytic passive word order.

(16) **Uses of *noŋ* in Ida'an Begak:**　　　　　　　　　　(Goudswaard 2005: pp. 191–192)

    a. <u>Introducing patient relatives:</u>

pasod	[NP ulan	[RC <u>noŋ</u>	ku	m-uppu?	]]
many	clothes	AUX/REL	1sg	DEP.UV-launder	

    'The clothes that I wash are many.'

    b. <u>Forming preverbal agent passives:</u>

suku	a-ssak	no	<u>noŋ</u>	kəmmi	m-iaŋ
all	NV-ripe	DEM	AUX/PASS	1pl.ex	DEP.UV-separate

    'All the ripe (rice) has to be/is usually separated by us.'

The verb appears in the "dependent" form: "Begak does not have an AV-equivalent for the Dependent" (p. 186), hence enforcing the association of *noŋ* with patient relatives (16a) and analytic passives (16b).

---

[2] Goudswaard (2005) describes *nong* in both cases here as an auxiliary, treating (16a) as a contact relative, but then notes that "This auxiliary is obligatory in certain constructions such as relative clauses and questions with interrogative pronoun" (p. 190).

Boutin (1996) identifies the analytic passive markers in Bonggi (also Northeast Sabah) as derived from the stem *anu*, which is a placeholder, i.e. 'whachamacallit/what's-her-name':

(17) **Uses of *anu* in Bonggi:** (Boutin 1996)

    a. <u>As a placeholder:</u>

        Bas   ku   m-ori   <u>anu</u>...   peranggiʔ
        PAST 1sg.GEN ACT-give whachamacallit pineapple
        'I already gave whachamacallit, pineapple.'

    b. <u>As a passive marker, inflected:</u>

        Sia bas na   <u>in-anu</u>   ku   m-ori
        3sg PAST already PFV-PASS 1sg.GEN ACT-give
        'He already has been given it by me.'

- Placeholders make natural, light heads for relative clauses.

- A complication here is that the passive marker *anu* gets inflected, reflecting *in-* (perfective) > *in-anu*, *-an* (imperfective UV) > *nu-an*, or *-aʔ* (imperative) > *nu-aʔ*.

<u>Summary:</u>

Q1: What is the source of these passive marker forms (PASS)?

    A: Relative complementizers (or other functional material) introducing patient relatives

Q2: What is the source for preverbal agent passive ("PASS Ag V") word order?

    A: Null copula pseudoclefts: "X_{Foc} [REL S_{Ag} V ...]"

3.3 Retained undergoer voice affix + pattern copying

Q: Could analytic passive markers reflect retentions of earlier undergoer voice (UV) morphology?

- In many CB languages which have retained voice/aspect affixes, UV is indicated by a *-Vn-* infix, inserted after the first consonant.[3]

- Could reanalysis of *Vn* as a prefix, and subsequent degrammaticalization, explain the prevalence of *Vn* analytic passive markers (as in Kayanic)?

A1: This is very unlikely as a source for *Vn* analytic passive markers. In many CB languages with UV infix *-Vn-*, where the stem does not support *-Vn-* infixation (for instance, vowel-initial), <u>it surfaces instead as initial *n-*</u>: see e.g. *k<en>alot* 'PASS.PFV-mix.together' vs *n-abit* 'PASS.PFV-hold' in Kiput (North Sarawak > Lower Baram; Blust 2003: p. 11).

---

[3] *-Vn-* is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian perfective marker **-in-*. But in various Philippine-type languages (as also observed in contemporary Tagalog), Patient Voice is null in perfective contexts, supporting an interpretation of reflexes of **-in-* as encoding both UV and perfective aspect. See discussion in e.g. Wolff 1973, Ross 2004.

A2: A prefixal variant allomorph related to UV *-Vn-* could be the source for the marker *di* in Kendayan (Malayic) preverbal analytic passives... albeit indirectly.

- – The passive morpheme across Malayic (both in Borneo and beyond) is *di-*. In all of Malayic except for the Kendayan group (which we discuss in a moment), *di-* is a verbal prefix, only allowing postverbal agents.

(18) **Van den Berg's (2004) hypothesis for Malayic *di-*:**

Proto-Austronesian *-in-*	>	Old Malay[4] *ni-*	>	Malayic *di-*
(perfective/UV; see note 3)		(passive prefix)		(passive prefix)
		prefixation	idiosyncratic	
		with metathesis[5]	denasalization	

(Note that Van den Berg's hypothesis for Malayic *di-* is controversial. See discussion in e.g. Ross 2004 and Adelaar 2005a and the Appendix.)

There *are* CB preverbal agent passives with the form *di*, but only in the Kendayan subgroup of Malayic in western Borneo; see e.g. Adelaar 2005b,c, Sommerlot 2024.

(19) **Bangape (Malayic > Kendayan):** (Sommerlot 2024)

Babi	nya	<u>di</u>	*ayutn-ku*	m-[b]unuh
pig	DEM	PASS	friend-1sg	N-kill

'This pig was killed by my friend.'

► Kendayan is adjacent to many Land Dayak languages, where preverbal agent passives are well attested. We propose that <u>Kendayan preverbal agent passives reflect pattern copying from Land Dayak influence</u>:

(20) **Kendayan (Malayic) preverbal agent passives via pattern copying:**

general Malayic "*di*-V" ⟶ Kendayan "*di* (Ag) V"

(Land Dayak "PASS (Ag) V") ↗

(Cf Ross (2004: p. 104), who suggests that the Kendayan preverbal agent passives are a retention.)

<u>Summary:</u>

Q1: What is the source of these passive marker forms (PASS)?

A: Malayic *di* comes from a *ni-* prefix variant of the perfective/UV infix *-in-*.

Q2: What is the source for preverbal agent passive ("PASS Ag V") word order?

A: Pattern borrowing from neighboring languages with preverbal agent passives.

---

[4] Old Malay refers to a variety found on stone and copper inscriptions from the 7th to 10th century AD.

[5] Reflexes of the UV/perfective (see note 3) appearing as an infix *-in-* or as a prefix *ni-* depending on the stem is observed in some varieties of Balantak (Sulawesi; Busenitz 1994, van den Berg 2004: pp. 538–539, 2012), Pendau (Sulawesi; Quick 2007: p. 93), Pangasinan (Philippines; Benton 1971: p. 92) and, further afield, Bola (Oceanic; van den Berg 2019) and Chamorro (Klein 2005). See also discussion in Halle 2001.

4 Conclusion

"Central Bornean-type" languages stand apart from the nearby and much better studied Philippine-type and Indonesian-type languages, in the existence of preverbal agent passives ("S$_{Pat}$ PASS (Ag) V").

► We propose that multiple innovation pathways underly these CB preverbal agent passives, as determined by their passive marker forms and possible derivations for their word order.

• The prevalence of preverbal agent passives reflects convergence under contact: for example, by pattern copying (as in Land Dayak → Kendayan Malayic; §3.3) and through mutual reinforcement between CB languages (and possibly Mainland Southeast Asian languages) that independently innovated this word order.

• Surface similarities which suggest cohesive typologies are not necessarily motivated by shared source constructions.

References

Adelaar, K. Alexander. 2005a. Much ado about di-. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 161. 127–142.

Adelaar, K. Alexander. 2005b. Structural diversity in the Malayic subgroup. In K. Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 202–226. Routledge.

Adelaar, K. Alexander & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.). 2005. *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Routledge.

Adelaar, K. Alexander. 2005c. *Salako or Badamea: sketch grammar, text and lexicon of a Kanayatn dialect in West Borneo*. Vol. 2 (Frankfurter Forschungen zu Südostasien). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. vii+328.

Baker, Mark C. 1988. *Incorporation: a theory of grammatical function changing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bell, Sarah Johanna. 1976. *Cebuano subjects in two frameworks*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.

Benton, Richard A. 1971. *Pangasinan reference grammar*. Retypeset in 2019. University of Hawaiʻi Press. https://hdl.handle.net/10125/62898.

van den Berg, René. 2004. Some notes on the origin of Malay *di. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160(4). 532–554.

van den Berg, René. 2019. Passive *ni* and three other *ni*'s in Bola (Oceanic): synchrony, diachrony, and homonymy. Handout.

van den Berg, René & Robert L. Busenitz. 2012. *A grammar of Balantak: a language of eastern Sulawesi*. SIL International.

Blench, Roger. 2010. Was there an Austroasiatic presence in Island Southeast Asia prior to the Austronesian expansion? *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 30. 133–144.

Blevins, Juliette & Daniel Kaufman. 2023. Lexical evidence in Austronesian for an Austroasiatic presence in Borneo. *Oceanic Linguistics* 62(2). 366–413.

Blust, Robert. 2003. *A short morphology, phonology and vocabulary of kiput, sarawak*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Blust, Robert. 2015. The case-markers of Proto-Austronesian. *Oceanic Linguistics* 54(2). 436–491. https://doi.org/10.1353/ol.2015.0024.

Boutin, Michael E. 1996. A tale of two passives in Bonggi. Presented at the Fourth Biennial Conference of the Borneo Research Council.

Busenitz, Robert L. 1994. Marking focus in Balantak. In *Studies in Sulawesi linguistics*, vol. 3.

Chen, Victoria & Bradley McDonnell. 2019. Western Austronesian voice. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 5. 173–195.

Clayre, Beatrice. 1996. The changing face of focus in the languages of Borneo. In Hein Steinhauer (ed.), *Papers in Austronesian linguistics, 3*, 51–88. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Clayre, Beatrice. 2002. Observations on Lundayeh auxiliaries and the case of *aru'*. In K. Alexander Adelaar & Robert Blust (eds.), *Between worlds: linguistic papers in memory of David John Prentice*, 49–63. Pacific Linguistics.

Clayre, Beatrice. 2005. Kelabitic languages and the fate of 'focus': evidence from the Kerayan. In I Wayan Arka & Malcolm Ross (eds.), *The many faces of Austronesian voice systems: some new empirical studies*, 17–58. Pacific Linguistics.

Clayre, Beatrice. 2014. A preliminary typology of the languages of middle Borneo. In Peter Sercombe, Michael Boutin & Adrian Clynes (eds.), *Advances in research on linguistic and cultural practices in Borneo* (Monograph series 14). Phillips, Maine: Borneo Research Council.

Clynes, Adrian. 2005. Belait. In K. Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 429–. Routledge.

Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka, Theodore Levin & Coppe Van Urk. 2017. Ergativity and Austronesian-type voice systems. In Jessica Coon, Diane Massam & Lisa deMena Travis (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*, 373–396. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198739371.013.16.

Erlewine, Michael Yoshitaka & Alexander D. Smith. 2024. *On the syntax of the analytic passive in Kenyah*. Presented at the First International Sympsium on Bornean Linguistics (ISBL1).

Goudswaard, Nellke. 2005. *The begak (ida'an) language of Sabah*. Utrecht: Landelijke Onderzoekschool Taalwetenschaap (Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics).

Halle, Morris. 2001. Infixation versus onset metathesis in Tagalog, Chamorro, and Toba Batak. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: a life in language*. MIT Press.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The grammaticalization of passive morphology. *Studies in Language* 14.

Hemmings, Charlotte. 2015. Kelabit voice: Philippine-type, Indonesian-type or something a bit different. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 113. 383–405.

Hemmings, Charlotte. 2016. *The Kelabit language: Austronesian voice and syntactic typology*. SOAS University of London dissertation.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 2002. Voice in western Austronesian: An update. In Fay Wouk & Malcolm Ross (eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems*, 7–16. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Hoh, Boon-Peng, Lian Deng & Shuhua Xu. 2022. The peopling and migration history of the natives in peninsular Malaysia and Borneo: a glimpse on the studies over the past 100 years. *Frontiers in Genetics* 13. https://doi.org/10.3389/fgene.2022.767018. https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/genetics/articles/10.3389/fgene.2022.767018.

Klein, Thomas B. 2005. Infixation and segmental constraint effects: UM and IN in Tagalog, Chamorro, and Toba Batak. *Lingua* 115. 959–995.

Kroeger, Paul & Alexander D. Smith. 2024. Non-Malayic languages of Borneo. In K. Alexander Adelaar & Antoinette Schapper (eds.), *The Oxford guide to the Malayo-Polynesian languages of Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mortensen, Christian. 2021. *The Kemaloh Lun Bawang language of Borneo*. University of Hawaiʻi at Manoa dissertation.

Prasithrathsint, Amara. 2004. The adversative passive marker as a prominent areal feature of Southeast Asian languages. In *Proceedings of SEALS 11*, 583–598.

Prasithrathsint, Amara. 2006. Development of the *thùuk* passive marker in Thai. In Werner Abraham & Larisa Leisi o (eds.), *Passivization and typology: form and function*, vol. 68 (Typological Studies in Language). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Quick, Phil. 2007. *A grammar of the Pendau language of central Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Pacific Linguistics.

Ross, Malcolm. 2002. The history and transitivity of western Austronesian voice and voice marking. In Fay Wouk & Malcolm Ross (eds.), *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems*, 17–62. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Ross, Malcolm. 2004. Notes on the prehistory and internal subgrouping of Malayic. In John Bowden & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *Papers in Austronesian subgrouping and dialectology*, 97–109. Pacific Linguistics.

Simanjuntak, Truman. 2017. The western route migration: a second probable neolithic diffusion to Indonesia. In Philip J. Piper, Hirofumi Matsumura & David Bulbeck (eds.), *New persepectives in Southeast Asian and Pacific prehistory*, 201–212. Australian National University Press.

Smith, Alexander D. 2017. *Unpublished field notes from research in Borneo, 2014–2017*.

Smith, Alexander D., Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine & Carly J. Sommerlot. 2024. Voice and pronominal forms in Kayan (Uma Nyaving). *Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society* 17(1). 81–104. https://doi.org/10524/52527.

Sommerlot, Carly J. 2024. Morphosyntactic variation in the Kendayan-Salako branch. Presented at the 27th International Symposium on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics (ISMIL 27) and first International Symposium on Bornean Linguistics (ISBL 1).

Sommerlot, Carly J. to appear. Voice in Land Dayak languages. *Oceanic Linguistics*.

Soriente, Antonia. 2013. Undergoer voice in Borneo Penan, Punan, Kenyah, and Kayan languages. In K. Alexander Adelaar (ed.), *Voice variation in Austronesian languages: linguistic studies of Indonesian and other languages in Indonesia*, 175–203. NUSA 54.

Wolff, John. 1973. Verbal inflection in Proto-Austronesian. In Andrew B. Gonzales (ed.), *Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez: essays in honor of Cecilio Lopez on his seventy-fifth birthday*, 71–91. Quezon City: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Wouk, Fay & Malcolm Ross (eds.). 2002. *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Wu, Jiang. 2023. *Malayic varieties of Kelantan and Terengganu: description and linguistic history*. Center for Linguistics: Universiteit Leiden dissertation.

Yap, Foong Ha & Shoichi Iwasaki. 2003. From causatives to passives: a passage in some East and Southeast Asian languages. In Eugene H. Casad & Gary B. Palmer (eds.), *Cognitive linguistics and non-Indo-European languages*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Appendices

Preverbal agent passive from postverbal agent fronting

Adelaar (2005a) (and citations there) suggest that Malayic *di* derives from the locative preposition *di*, which is reconstructed to Proto-Austronesian (see e.g. Blust 2015: pp. 458–460).

(21) **Reanalysis of agent case markers/prepositions into passive markers:**

S$_{Pat}$ V [CM/P$_{by}$ Ag] $\rightarrow$ S$_{Pat}$ [CM/P$_{by}$ Agent] V ... $\rightarrow$ S$_{Pat}$ PASS (Agent) V ...

passive agent (*by*-phrase) fronting   reanalysis

Note that some Malayic languages also use *di* for introducing postverbal agents ('by'):

(22) **Coastal Terengganu Malay bare passive with *di* agent phrase:** (Wu 2023: p. 237)

abih ikaŋ hɔʔ bəli p=pasɔ taʔdi makaŋ [<u>di</u> kuciŋ]
finish fish REL buy LOC=market just.now eat AGT cat

'The fish that (I) bought at the market was eaten by the cat.'

► Fronting of such a *by*-phrase to immediately preverbal position would yield "*di* Ag V" word order.[6]

- The main challenge for this approach is that there is no productive process of PP / passive agent fronting to immediately preverbal position, in synchronic languages of the region.

- In addition, this would suggest that preverbal *di* started with "*di* Ag V" word order, even though this is unattested across Malayic except in the Kendayan group.

- Alternatively, Adelaar's own description suggests the agent-introducing *di* preposition itself directly cliticizing to the verb (perhaps as a form of preposition-incorporation; Baker 1988) but there is no evidence for such a process in languages of the region as well.

Form copying from Malayic to Land Dayak

Land Dayak languages exhibit some diversity amongst its analytic passive markers. Among these, Ribun (and Sanggau) are alone in having *leʔ/le(h)* form. But notice too that postverbal agents can be introduced by *leʔ* as well.

(23) **Ribun *leʔ* passives** (Sommerlot to appear)

a. onyo han <u>leʔ</u> *kosu* mitak
person that PASS dog bite
'That person was bit by a dog.'

b. oko <u>leʔ</u> mise [<u>leʔ</u> odiʔ]
1sg PASS call AGT 3sg
'I was called by him/her.'

- Reflexes of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *l* are *r* in Land Dayak. This suggests that Ribun/Sanggau *leʔ/le(h)* reflect relatively recent borrowings, likely from Malayic *oleh*, the passive agent-introducing preposition 'by' in Standard Malay/Indonesian and various other Malayic languages.

► We propose that *leʔ* was first used for postverbal agent marking ('by'), then <u>form copying</u> led to the passive marker being *leʔ* as well. This exemplifies yet another process that obscure the historical sources of passive constructions.

---

[6] Soriente (2013) suggests a similar connection in Punan Malinau (Central Sarawak), where the passive marker is *in*: "The particle *in* is also used occasionally as a preposition indicating causality or purpose" (p. 197).